

## Strategies of defence and war: the hidden contradictions emerge

Defence policymakers in Nato countries are heading straight into a blind alley by debating in public what is to be done in the event of an emergency, i.e. war.

In doing so they are not only revealing more about defence contradictions that have until now been kept quiet with great effort.

They also prejudice any change in security policy.

The peace movement is in no way involved. So far only the military and political establishments are concerned.

The crux of the problem was described by French sociologist and security expert Raymond Aron in 1964:

"The threat of war, even thermonuclear war, has become part and parcel of world affairs. Yet in most cases a war would contradict common sense."

"It would not be an extension of but an end to politics. This contradiction makes reconciliation between enemies and complete confidence between allies impossible."

The basic contradiction has not only persisted; it has been intensified. The reason has undoubtedly been because scepticism about a deterrent system based on a constant arms build-up has not prevailed.

Practical politics continues to be governed by people for whom military strength and the capacity to wage war are unshakable yardsticks by which they think and act.

One result of this policy was, in the late 1960s, the flexible response as a strategy by which to counter an enemy attack.

One aim of the flexible response strategy was to reconcile military and political contradictions within Nato or, as Aron put it, to restore complete confidence between the allies.

This bid was doomed to failure in that the flexible response strategy, which continues to be Nato policy, was intended to harmonise the irreconcilable.

1. Security interests differed between the United States on the one hand and Europe on the other. The most momentous instance of continued mistrust within Nato must surely be the controversial dual-track decision.

2. Only the ability to wage war was capable of preventing war from being waged, it was argued to the exclusion of the realisation that a war in Europe would not only mean the end of politics but the end of Europe.

Luftwaffe General Johannes Steinhoff (ret'd) has described in drastic terms the fateful consequences of the flexible response strategy for military planning.

General Steinhoff, who was chairman of Nato's military committee until the mid-1970s, did so in his 1976 book *Wohin treibt die Nato?* (Where is Nato Heading?).

"To this day it has indeed been difficult," he wrote, "to convince the military that nuclear arms are no substitute for conventional artillery."

"They are not a tactical weapon for use in a lengthy exchange of nuclear strikes; they are a 'deterrant'..."

"The belief that nuclear weapons were controllable by continuing battle using decontaminated men on board



Outraged Social Democratic MPs in Bonn demanded to be told more about the contents of the survey, details of how it came to be written, and clamoured, to be on the safe side, for the resignation of General Glanz.

They had evidently overlooked the fact that the survey was written and published in August last year when the Bonn government was a coalition led by their own party.

They had also forgotten a year ago to ask SPD Defence Minister Hans Apel what was going on at the Ministry, and forgotten to do so since.

There has been an unfortunate predilection to allocate more blame than there appears to have been guilt, with the result that the problem has vanished in a fog of half-truths and misunderstandings.

What actually happened, in chronological sequence, was as follows:

● In March 1981 a US Army report entitled *The Air-Land Battle and Corps 86* was published under the auspices of General Donn A. Starry, the designated Nato C-in-C Europe.

Against the background of modern weapons developments new operational concepts of future air-land warfare were outlined and conclusions reached for the US corps of 1986.

The crucial innovation is apparent from the following point made in the report: "Attacks on the enemy's rear are not a luxury; they are an unqualified necessity in order to win."

● Findings in the report were included in the US Army's Field Manual 100-5 in August 1982, thereby becoming official policy.

General Glanz had nothing to do with this report nor with the field manual that resulted from it.

### New debate on logic of Nato deployment

It could then be delinked from its defence sector and responsibility for this sector given to the Bundeswehr.

The BAOR forms part of the forward defence of which *The Times* is so critical. It consists, as far as its ground forces are concerned, of an army corps stationed in north Germany.

*The Times* says this amounts to being "bogged down guarding every forward inch of a 63-kilometre front." (That is, the border between East and West Germany).

According to official figures the BAOR has roughly 55,000 men stationed in Germany. In the 1982-83 financial year Britain spent £1.5bn on it.

In 1981, according to a BAOR publication, the cost of maintaining the Rhine Army was put at roughly DM3.25bn.

*The Times* now argues, especially on account of the high cost, that Nato defence forces in Germany ought to be regrouped with a view to reducing the size of the BAOR.

This aim is defined as ensuring, without extending operations to Warsaw

● At the same time as the *AirLand Battle 2000* was published, the title was similar to that of the report but it was made out of US-German project.

In it, battlefield conditions are mentioned as they are expected in the year 2015. This paper, pages us printed, is the basis of the report.

The dispute is justified by the survey, 11 September 1983. The survey takes up the second year - No. 1099 - By air papers left off and consider along the lines of the Report.

The assumption is, to quote the US adviser Colin S. Gray, that the US is a party to the survey.

The German-American situation is as follows: the US is involved in the air-land war in the year 2015 on current strategic principles, as outlined in Nato's MC 14/3 on the flexible response.

This diplomatic gesture is intended to make the survey acceptable as a discussion-worthy at Nato level in Brussels.

But in the key passages of the South Korean airliner shot down south-west of Sakhalin was not the principle of a pardonable mistake, of an innocent error or of a misinterpretation of the facts.

"If a numerically inferior unit with his counter-attacked superior enemy has penetrated his territory," the survey says, "it is too late for his own forces to withdraw."

The night-time order to fire at the South Korean airliner shot down south-west of Sakhalin was not the principle of a pardonable mistake, of an innocent error or of a misinterpretation of the facts.

Whatever strategy may be adopted, the argument continues, the missile must, if he is to win, be sent up to tell the intruder tells the length of Germany just as it had a bearing on Brezhnev's invasion of Afghanistan or Andropov's continuing stranglehold in Poland.

There is no other explanation to account for the nonsensical medium-range missile build-up by the Soviet Union in Europe.

The Soviets want advantage, not parity.

The destruction of the airliner is just another expression of this root-and-branch Soviet security policy with its contempt for human life.

Quite apart from the fact that those who constantly talk of peace forces can fight and win at the same time use military force they may be numerically inferior.

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Because of the tremendous consequences responsibility for foreseeable political consequences he would probably not have taken the decision without double-checking with Moscow.

The repercussions that have now occurred could hardly have been more far-reaching if a US airliner had been shot down.

And it is not just because US citizens, including a Congressman, were on board the South Korean aircraft.

Shooting down the South Korean jumbo jet was disgraceful and cannot possibly be justified. But the way in which the Soviet Union has chosen to release information on the subject has been alarming.

The Soviet silence, the denial and misrepresentation of fact, doubtless to be followed by bids to justify unjustifiable behaviour and counter-attacks on Western criticism and expressions of outrage have unmasked the great-power cynicism of the Soviet system more clearly than any event since the invasion of Afghanistan.

Before the crucial round of missile talks in Geneva and the purportedly successful conclusion of the Helsinki review conference in Madrid, the Soviet Union has demonstrated in a ghastly manner what practical importance it attaches to the exchange of information and to confidence-building measures.

How does Moscow assess the Helsinki accords it signed in 1975? Just a scrap of paper? What about the hot line between Moscow and Washington? Just an old and unreliable East-West telephone connection?

Paradoxical though it may sound, the Sakhalin incident might not have led to the chill in East-West ties that now seems inevitable.

Honest information from Moscow on the eve of the Geneva talks and the Madrid conference might even have had a confidence-building effect.

It could have done so if Mr Andropov had promptly called Washington on the hot line, the Kremlin had admitted to 'political responsibility for an unpardonable military over-reaction,' expressed regret over the victims and immediately said it would pay full compensation.

The 269 victims on board the Korean jumbo would still not have been brought back to life but their deaths would no longer have been so totally meaningless.

Instead, the Soviet Union has behaved throughout as though there were serious doubts whether the warning shot fired at the aircraft was just a warning or a deliberate 'coup de grace.'

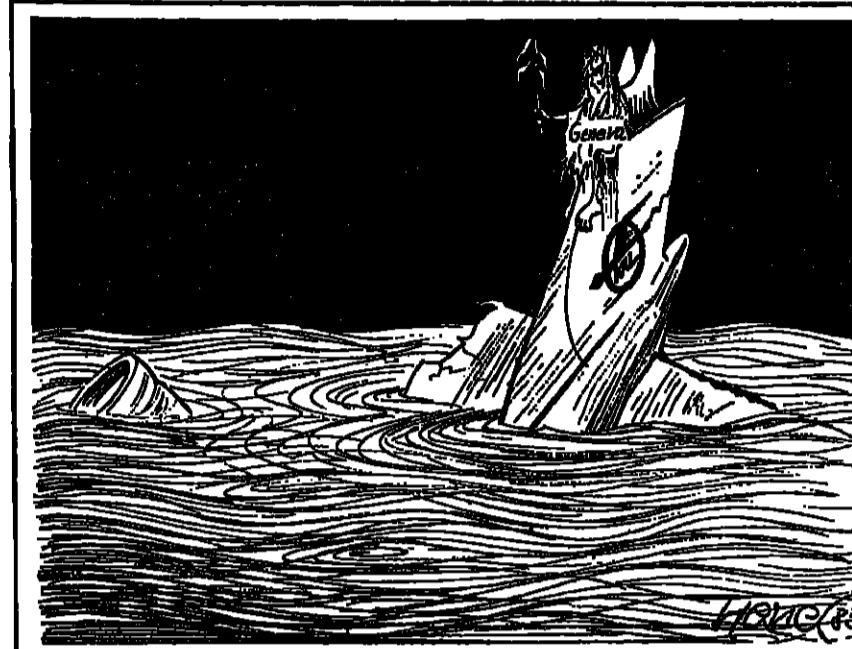
Even the Italian Communist newspaper, *L'Unità*, gives rise to doubts whether the outcome was unintentional.

"The hypothesis that the plane was shot down as a merciless measure to protect

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## Air tragedy puts East-West affairs back in melting pot



(Cartoon: Hane/Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger)

### Soviet reaction to the shooting 'unmasks big-power cynicism'

Would the Soviet Union have pushed the button if the aircraft had been American instead of South Korean?

Probably not. The commanding officer at ground control whose job it was to give the MiG pilot the order to shoot would be unlikely to have run the risk.

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## WORLD AFFAIRS

## Begin's resignation means postponement of Kohl's visit to Israel

German-Israeli ties had never seemed as close as on the eve of Chancellor Kohl's planned visit to Jerusalem. It was from Bonn that the Israeli's first learnt of Prime Minister Begin's resignation.

The reason for this early information was not any special intimacy but the fact that Dr Kohl and a party of nearly 100 journalists were poised to fly to Israel.

The Chancellor agreed with the Israeli government that the visit should be postponed.

This will not impose a burden on German-Israeli ties. They are basically sound, although not free from periodic upsets.

In Jerusalem Helmut Kohl's readiness to visit Israel so soon after assuming office was appreciated and welcomed. His predecessor, Helmut Schmidt, had long been unwilling to make the visit and was in the end unable to.

Now he has had to postpone his visit at the shortest notice the Chancellor will be well advised not to overdo his consideration for Israel.

He plans to go ahead and visit several Arab countries early next month regardless whether or not he is able to visit Israel first.

Israel currently has other issues on its mind than the Bonn Chancellor's visit and is consequently less interested in his friendly overtures than it might otherwise have been (and fundamentally remains).

Mr Begin is not just anyone. He is a statesman so astute a critic as the late

Nahum Goldmann felt was the greatest Israel had had in its 35-year history, including its first head of government, David Ben Gurion.

Goldmann's judgement was based both on Mr Begin's "good" deeds and on his "bad" ones, on his role as leader of an underground terrorist organisation and as the Prime Minister who held out the hand of peace to Egypt.

Reconciliation with Israel's main adversary after four wars was undoubtedly the foremost political, diplomatic and personal achievement of Menachem Begin.

Mr Begin had personally extended the invitation to the new Bonn Chancellor, but it was no secret that he did not relish the prospect of shaking hands with a German head of government and listening to the German national anthem being played by an Israeli military band.

The more imminent the prospect grew, the less he liked it. It may not have influenced his decision to resign as such but it will certainly have influenced his timing emotionally.

Mr Begin was long implacably anti-German, both for general and for personal reasons. He just didn't feel able to put a personal end to the darkest chapter in German history.

So his resignation may well serve the cause of German-Israeli relations, which could well do with improvement, just as it may ease the quest for peace in the Middle East, a peace to which Menachem Begin has made a historic contribution.

Heinz Morsberger

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 31 August 1983)

## Ministerial session reveals the extent of EEC problems

Brussels merely served to prove the point.

Everyone insists on maintaining the Common Agricultural Policy in the sector where farmers in their country benefit (always assuming the farmers' vote is important enough).

France makes common cause with Holland, Ireland and Denmark in defending, say, the butter mountain, whereas Britain is equally keen on butter subsidies, but because cuts would increase its important bill.

Further unsatisfactory repercussions of this inability to make concessions for the sake of integration are the failure to establish an economic and monetary union, a monetary system that includes neither Britain nor Greece and a common foreign policy that doesn't deserve the name.

In Stuttgart the Council of Ministers was called on to reach decision. The spirit in which they have set about it has now been seen in Brussels. To take and not to count the cost seems to be their motto.

If only one knew, as a Frenchman, a German or a Luxembourg, ways and means of looking after peace and common interests without the European Community, one could but counsel resignation from the EEC.

The list of unfinished business could be continued virtually ad infinitum. In 1972, for instance, a common industrial policy was resolved at a Common Market summit meeting.

An efficient smaller community could then be set up, unhampered by tiresome

at Sabra and Shatila and before the death of his wife and of his Deputy Premier and personal friend Simcha Ehrlich.

A first sign of his impending resignation was the seemingly unmotivated cancellation of a visit to Washington just before his 70th birthday in July.

The deadline for his momentous announcement of his determination to resign, on the eve of Chancellor Kohl's visit, seems to have been no coincidence.

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(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 31 August 1983)

## Soviet read

Continued from page 1

Soviet air space seems to be a mask and revealing its true character, that of a bad well-overshadowed mark.

So do American politicians clamouring for the toughest Chancellor Helmut Kohl has ended his holiday and returned to Bonn by President Reagan in his office.

"The Soviet Union," he might have put an end to the confrontation, "deceives wherever it can remain."

The presence of mind by dispute, which dealt with import

He has no intention of acting

and skipping the final meeting

between the CSU and FDP

He feels it is even more important to continue because the FDP

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## Asylum applicant jumps to death from courtroom

**K**emal Altun, a 23-year-old Turkish applicant for political asylum, committed suicide by jumping out of the sixth-floor window of a West Berlin court.

Proceedings were about to start on the second day of an administrative court case to decide whether or not he should be deported. He ran to the open window as soon as the police had unlocked his handcuffs, jumped out and landed on the grass behind the court building. He died almost immediately.

He felt his powers of concentration were declining. "Kemal Altun was scared," his lawyer said. He did not trust

### Bureaucratic questions

**E**veryone is upset about the death of Kemal Altun, the young Turk who committed suicide by jumping out of a sixth-floor courtroom window in Berlin.

But expressions of regret have a hollow ring. How desperate he must have felt to have preferred suicide to living on in fear of being extradited to Turkey and handed over to the military regime in Ankara!

Altun, 23, had been in custody pending extradition for 13 months and was taken in handcuffs to the Berlin administrative court where his application for political asylum, already granted, was under review.

He had clearly lost all hope of justice and was just plain scared.

His case is now over but there will have to be repercussions, and not just a witchhunt for a culprit. In strictly legal terms there is no guilty party.

But the officials who handled the case are bound to wonder whether they might not have done better to show human feeling.

It was a case in which two Bonn government agencies were at legal loggerheads because the granting of political asylum by the department responsible was not to the liking of the commissioner appointed by Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann.

Did they really mean to set up the Altun case as a warning? Two courts reached contradictory decisions. Were they merely abiding by legal formalities?

The outcome was undeniably that an individual was unrelentingly driven to destruction between the millstones of red tape and the legal machine.

Why is it that no-one in Bonn or Berlin saw fit to give Kemal Altun an assurance that he would not be extradited to Turkey until the authorities were absolutely convinced he would come to no harm?

If any such assurance had been given he would most likely still have been alive.

All that can, and must, now be done is to reconsider Bonn's tougher policy line on aliens, especially extradition proceedings to Turkey.

Turkey is a dictatorship where might prevails over human rights. There must be no repetition of the Altun case.

**Hans Stollhans**  
(Lübecker Nachrichten, 31 August 1983)

the legal system in Turkey and was afraid of being tortured in custody there.

Time and again he insisted that the Turkish authorities wanted him for political reasons and not in connection with a criminal offence.

The Ankara police were interested in information about his brother, a former Social Democratic MP who was now living in exile in Paris.

Right-wing political opponents had constantly accused him of being involved in the murder of a former Turkish Cabinet Minister who has been a leading Nationalist politician.

The politician's family and friends were so powerful, Altun repeatedly told his lawyer, that they could even have taken the law into their own hands.

The case was extremely complicated in its legal ramifications. Altun arrived in West Berlin illegally in January 1981. Two sisters of his lived in the Berlin borough of Kreuzberg.

Eight months later he applied for asylum and an alien's passport. He said he couldn't apply to the Turkish consulate because his name was on the wanted list for political offences.

He was accused of having helped to set up a left-wing students' association and wrongfully accused of having been associated with the murder of a former Turkish Cabinet Minister.

A warrant for his arrest on charges of incitement to murder was issued by a

military court in Ankara on 18 May 1982.

After the German authorities made enquiries in the Turkish capital an extradition request was made, but not in connection with the murder charge.

That would not have led to extradition because Altun would have faced a possible death penalty in his native country.

Instead the extradition request was made in connection with charges of trying to interfere with the course of justice.

Altun was said to have hidden the murderers and destroyed evidence. He was then taken into custody in Berlin.

When a local court ruled that a deportation order was legal because there could be no question of political activities being involved he was imprisoned pending deportation on 9 September 1982.

This state of affairs was in no way changed when the Federal Refugees Office in Zirndorf, near Nuremberg, ruled that he was a bona fide applicant for political asylum.

Recognition as an asylum-seeker does not invariably rule out extradition. In this case, the asylum commissioner appointed by the Interior Ministry appealed against the ruling.

So that left the Berlin administrative court with the task of deciding whether Altun could be granted political asylum.

Kemal Altun stood a fair chance of not being extradited. Various organisations had spoken up in his favour.

Scrutiny of the Turkish extradition application had also, in connection with a Turkish court judgment, given rise to doubt whether the charges of trying to pervert justice were justified.

But Altun was clearly unaware of this.

*dpa*

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 31 August 1983)

### Doubts raised about sense of extradition regulations

**K**emal Altun, 23, lost his way in the jungle of the law at a point where no-one but a legal expert could possibly have found his way out of the maze of provisions.

Seeing no way out, he chose suicide rather than the uncertain outcome of his protracted legal bid to gain political asylum and avert extradition to Turkey.

What happened to him is dreadful and makes one wonder whether the law as it stands makes sense. Germans are upset and the international echo is sure to resound.

The Altun case was no longer a purely German affair. The UN high commissioner for refugees had intervened in Bonn in a bid to prevent Altun's extradition.

The case is such a tragic one that we must take care not to let our emotions run away with us. It must be seen against a background that poses virtually insuperable problems for Bonn, and not just Bonn.

In 1949, when the right of asylum was incorporated in Article 16 of Basic Law for political refugees no-one could have anticipated the degree to which discrimination and persecution on political, racial and religious grounds was to snowball in so many countries all over the world.

At the end of last year 41,857 foreign nationals had been granted political asylum in the Federal Republic of Ger-

many, while about 160,000 cases were pending.

● No-one in 1949 could have anticipated the degree to which the right of asylum was to be abused by aliens who were patently economic rather than political refugees.

● Something had to be done to stem the tide, it was generally agreed. Has Altun's suicide brought about a complete change in the situation?

One reaction has been to lay the blame for an undoubtedly human tragedy on members of the Bonn government. This line of argument must surely be dismissed without further ado.

A more valid point that could well be considered is whether, after years of tolerance, a feeling of growing impatience with aliens might not have arisen that could affect legal rulings.

There must certainly be a rethink about extraditing people to Turkey. Bonn is naturally bound by treaty provisions, but these agreements were reached at a time when there was a democratic government in power in Ankara.

Since the military take-over three years ago the legal groundwork may not have changed but the moral foundations of such agreements most definitely have.

Altun's death is a reminder to re-appraise the terms on which business between Bonn and Ankara is conducted.

*Claus-Dietrich Möhke*  
(Rheinische Post, 31 August 1983)

### GERMANY nuclear protest movement has uphill task

**T**he "hot autumn" of anti-nuclear protests began in Mutlangen, Swabia, 1 September as an anti-war demonstration to commemorate the outbreak of World War II and to warn against nuclear disaster.

The hope of being heard is unlikely.

The likelihood of agreement on disarmament or even arms control remains remote.

There is nothing to indicate that Geneva missiles talks will succeed.

Altun

**S**uicide reversal in the case of legal complexity

**B**ewilderment and dismay at the suicide of Kemal Altun by the former mayor of West Berlin, and others taking part in a blockade of American military installations. In taking this action they are breaking traffic regulations.

His despairing resolve, it is agreed, could have been due to the impression of being condemned to mass destruction is more important than traffic laws. What matters are the basic questions of legitimacy and legality.

Albert says: "Protest against weapons of mass destruction is more important than traffic laws. What matters are the basic questions of legitimacy and legality."

The present Constitution also clearly rejects Jacobinism, a system in which the alleged people's will is determined in small groups and taken as a binding political guideline.

The amazing fact is that many of the leading intellectuals of today's protest movement themselves suffered from the perversion of parliamentarism in the waning days of Germany's first democracy.

According to the signatories, their advertisement does not violate the civil service code because the mention of their professions was kept in general terms and was indispensable for the understanding of the advertisement.

Should not they — more than anybody else — have the onus of demonstrating in favour of a renaissance of parliamentarism and parliamentary debate under democratic rules?

The dispute over whether the Bundestag should debate and evaluate the signatories' say:

● The deployment of new weapons without a law to this effect is unconstitutional;

● The new weapons endanger the constitutional right to physical inviolability and increase the "danger to our lives manifold." In times of tension, the Soviet Union could be goaded into a

Continued from page 4

ing by its promises, it being in Ankara's interest to do so.

"They know for sure that we would stop extraditing people immediately if anyone who was returned was tortured in Turkey," a Justice Ministry official comments.

At a time when the Altun case was not widely publicised the authorities in Bonn gave his Berlin lawyer an assurance that he would be allowed sufficient time to arrange for defence witnesses to be summoned from Turkey.

He was also given to understand that after the public debate in connection with the Altun case his client was unlikely to be extradited.

Yet that would have been an equally unsatisfactory state of affairs from the legal viewpoint. Why should one man not be extradited when others had been? Surely that would be a breach of the principle of equality.

Bonn even has an interest in abiding by extradition procedures in ties with Turkey. It is an interest that derives from the principle of reciprocity.

There are regular instances of German citizens imprisoned in Turkey who are wanted in Germany for, say, drug running offences.

Turkey would be unlikely to extradite them if Germany stopped extraditing Turks. So there is more to the problem than meets the eye.

*Rolf Clement*  
(Mannheimer Morgen, 31 August 1983)

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## Judges reprimanded after anti-missiles stand

**T**hirty-five judges and prosecutors have been reprimanded after they put an advertisement in a newspaper declaring that they opposed the missile deployment.

The advertisement, in the conservative daily, *Lübecker Nachrichten*, said the deployment would violate the Constitution.

What makes this action unusual is the fact that the Lübeck judiciary has never had the reputation of being particularly rebellious.

On the contrary, it has always been regarded as a bastion of conservatism in Germany's northernmost state where many years of CDU government have ruled off on it.

Schleswig-Holstein's Justice Minister, Henning Schwarz, responded as expected. Ministry spokesmen said the 35 could be disciplined.

The minister obtained a legal opinion and Lübeck Presiding Judge Herbert Tiegen told the 35 that they were in breach of their duties as civil servants.

They received a written reprimand which has become a permanent part of their personnel files. The reprimand concerns the manner in which the advertisement was presented, especially the fact that they identified themselves as "judges and prosecutors" and referred to their "professional ethics," this jeopardising the reputation of the judiciary.

It is true that the law demands that civil servants exercise "moderation and restraint" in political matters. But views differ widely on how this is to be interpreted in each case.

The *Lübecker Nachrichten*, which carried the advertisement, distanced itself from it in that very issue, writing: "This advertisement will serve as a welcome whitewash for all demonstrators who believe that they can ignore the law on grounds of conscience."

Where Lübeck is concerned, the hot autumn has already begun.

*Karsten Plog*

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 21 August 1983)

pointing to opinion surveys makes at least two serious mistakes:

One: it compares a lawful decision with Weimar's problems. Weimar bowed down to Hitler's unfortunately successful attempt to use his legally attained powers to legitimise the destruction of the Constitution and the minorities protected by it.

This comparison is tantamount to minimising the events of the 1930s and discrediting the present, even if it is done unwittingly.

When work on the present Constitution began — also on a 1st of September, but 35 rather than 44 years ago — Carlo Schmid, one of the fathers of the Constitution, said that "the very term 'constitutional state' automatically entails the citizens' duty to obey that state's laws . . . This in no way detracts from their right to change their state and society, using the avenues given to them by the Constitution to this end."

Those who ignored this helped those who had long been arguing that the opponents of a traditional security policy were unable to use the demonstration laws. The laws it followed had to be tightened.

Two: the other major mistake is to attribute more importance to opinion polls than to a parliamentary democracy's ground rules. These rules have been adopted by the Federal Republic of Germany, which deliberately and expressly turned its back on the disastrous plebiscitary elements of the Weimar Constitution.

The present Constitution also clearly rejects Jacobinism, a system in which the alleged people's will is determined in small groups and taken as a binding political guideline.

The amazing fact is that many of the leading intellectuals of today's protest movement themselves suffered from the perversion of parliamentarism in the waning days of Germany's first democracy.

According to the signatories, their advertisement does not violate the civil service code because the mention of their professions was kept in general terms and was indispensable for the understanding of the advertisement.

After all, the advertisement put forward legal arguments such as these, the signatories say:

● The deployment of new weapons without a law to this effect is unconstitutional;

● The new weapons endanger the constitutional right to physical inviolability and increase the "danger to our lives manifold." In times of tension, the Soviet Union could be goaded into a

sions of far-reaching political significance.

A municipality only had the right to interfere in matters that concern planning and zoning and the like.

In such cases, however, municipal action would have to be based on concrete plans — which was not the case either in Lindau or in the other municipalities whose representatives oppose the stationing of the weapons as a mere "precaution against an eventualty."

In support of its line of argument, the state cites two constitutional court rulings passed in 1958.

The rulings nullified Hamburg and Bremen laws on an opinion survey on the nuclear weapons issue and called on the state of Hesse to take action against municipalities intending to conduct such polls on their own.

The elites of Nuremberg and Erlangen have also rejected the stationing of nuclear weapons within their boundaries. Their disputes have not yet reached the courts.

The central Franconia authority has now demanded that the two reverse

preventive nuclear attack on West Germany, and the danger of a nuclear war due to technical failure is being promoted in an "insufferable way."

● The fact that the president of the USA can decide on the use of new weapons without consulting German authorities is incompatible with the Constitution.

The Lübeck 35 are not alone with their reservations.

Even so, the Kiel Justice Ministry wasted no time in taking action. The reprimand they received has a political dimension as well: it not only weighed the signatories' actions; it also wanted to present the official government definition of "state interests."



## PERSPECTIVE

## The nature of national image and identity



Anything but a German. That is a quote from a German named Alexis in John Le Carré's latest book, *The Little Drummer Girl*.

Explorers may not rate highly in literary prestige but a writer with the international reputation of a David Cornwell, alias John Le Carré, merits closer reading.

German readers may be taken aback to read that Alexis resolves to be a Jew or a Spaniard or an Eskimo or a root-and-branch anarchist like anyone else in his next life.

Anything, that is, but a German. That you only are once, for atonement, and that's it.

This is a viewpoint that can hardly fail to fascinate and irritate a German, although not particularly because it is expressed in a book that can be sure of selling a million.

The writer, David Cornwell, spent some years in Germany. He has a number of German friends and cannot be accused of being anti-German in outlook.

The main reason why his viewpoint is so disconcerting is that he has merely stated in a striking manner what people all over the world feel about us Germans and some of us sometimes feel ourselves.

Let no mistake be made about it regardless whether our French friends or American colleagues may be politely or even cordially prepared to grant one or other of us special status.

Many of us may feel complimented on being told we don't seem like Germans at all, but isn't that in itself an extremely telling comment?

We Germans ponder far too much over ourselves and are, too, keen on being loved. It is widely agreed, so we might just as well indulge in this national failing too.

Who, apart from J. R. Ewing, has never wanted to be loved? There are sound reasons, for that matter, why we should indulge in reflection on ourselves.

Many of us, like Dr Alexis, have an affinity with Spain: from the Legion Condor, which fought on Franco's side in the civil war, to the many who own a villa on the Costa Brava.

Maybe there is more to it than a desire for sunshine and reasonable prices; maybe not.

Would as many Germans like to be Jews as Jews enjoyed being Germans before the Holocaust? Probably not. It is certainly not a point that works particularly well.

As for Eskimos, they are merely a writer's gag used by Le Carré.

And what about the Germans who would sooner be British or French or, if only the British and French would join them, Europeans?

A fact that is worth considering time and again is that there is no longer any such thing as a clearly-defined or generally-held concept of Germanness today.

Who among us would want to be a German for atonement when so many

others around us are staunchly opposed to making amends?

Viewed historically, until 1871 there were no Germans; there were Bavarians, Badeners, Saxons, Prussians and many more.

A German national consciousness then began to take shape and, in typically German fashion, was wildly exaggerated, with the result that 1914 jingoism plummeted to zero in 1918.

The Weimar democracy was a second-rate democracy as a result of Versailles and nothing to be unduly proud of. Modern historians would do well to take a closer look at the extent to which Hitler and his aides benefited from the frustrated revival of national awareness.

None are firm foundations. We are the heirs to Hitler's legacy whether we want to be or not, whereas many other names synonymous with German culture can hardly be claimed by the Federal Republic.

They include Mozart, an Austrian, Kafka, a Czech, and many others such as Luther, Goethe and Schiller whom we share (or compete for) with the GDR.

Even the common language can lead us to jump to conclusions to which the East Germans, Austrians and Swiss rightly object.

Oddly enough, few Germans feel the issue of national identity is particularly pressing. Most think of themselves in terms of their family and friends, neighbours and workmates.

We all have many foreign friends and have no strong feelings on spending our next lives as Eskimos or as Germans, especially as none of us feel there will be a next time.

A tinge of pathos is hard to avoid in connection with what we would like to see. Be that as it may, being German means to us retaining awareness of German science and the arts, keeping up the German language, keeping up and even loving our families and homes.

It also means aiming at a United States of Europe toward which we Germans have more to contribute than the cash contribution we continually seem called on to make.

What we have to offer is our renunciation, perhaps not an entirely voluntary renunciation, of a national consciousness.

Rodolf Walter Leonhardt  
(Die Zeit, 2 September 1983)

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Young Germans feel themselves pri-

marily to belong to their generation: clearly, understandably, ephemerally. For they may be determined to trust no one over 30 now, but where will they stand when they themselves are 40?

Solidarity among the young is deceptive because youth is so transitory.

Home in the wider sense is probably the strongest tie that is still left. Anyone in West Germany who feels proud will be proud of coming from Lake Constance or the North Sea, the Black Forest or the Rhineland, of being a Bavarian or from Hamburg.

The next rung in the ladder is missing. Few Germans are keen on the idea of the fatherland. Most would dismiss us as laughable any idea of dying for Bonn.

There are worse views to take. We have become cosmopolitans, good at foreign languages and keener on foreign travel than just about anyone else.

Yet when we stop to think what being a German means nowadays, all that comes to mind are history, civilisation and language.

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(Die Zeit, 2 September 1983)

The British cock a friendly eye towards Germany

Britain's best friend on the Continent is felt to be Germany, a Gallup poll published by the *Sunday Telegraph*, London, reveals.

The Federal Republic of Germany led the field with 27 per cent, followed by France with nine and the Netherlands with eight per cent.

All other countries polled less than two per cent.

In 1968 Germany was named by a mere 12 per cent in a similar poll. By 1977 its rating had increased to 25 per cent.

Lack of interest has arguably made

11 September 1983  
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## ■ MINERALS

## Drop in world metal prices no deterrent for prospectors

Prospecting for metal ores continues in Germany despite the decline in world market prices for metals of all kinds.

Gold and various non-ferrous metal ores and heavy spar are what prospectors hope to find.

But work is hampered by the provisions of the new Mining Act, which came into force last year and is by no means as handy as the tried and trusted regulations of yesteryear.

Prospectors are hard at work in Upper Franconia and the Bayerischer Wald, where a fresh look is being taken at deposits that have long been known to exist near Goldkronach.

Preussag of Hanover have set up an office in the area from which geochemical prospecting is concentrating on titanium, tin and gold.

Tin ore deposits near Rudolstadt, on the border between Bavaria and the GDR, have been found to be not worth working.

But the quest continues, with the emphasis on systematic screening of sediment in brooks and streams. Samples of sand are taken and analysed for the amount of titanium and tin they contain.

The aim is to find out where high ore counts indicate rich seams. Prospectors also pan for gold in the traditional manner, sending the washings in for laboratory analysis.



Prospecting for gold in the Eisenberg area near Korbach in Hesse has failed to come up with results so far.

Decisions remain to be reached on prospecting for copper in the shale areas of central Germany.

The Federal Geoscience and Raw Materials Research Establishment in Hanover has for some time joined forces with the Hesse Soil Research Department in this particular quest.

They have done drilling in 33 locations to check where the copper shale extends from the Harz to the Spessart region and identified rich seams in several areas.

The Rammelsberg has been mined for over 1,000 years. Scientists now know how its deposits took shape and the Hanover establishment has joined forces with the Lower Saxon Soil Research Department to drill at seven locations in the area.

The geological patterns unearthed are very similar to the Rammelsberg area. Geochemists are currently checking whether rich seams may be expected.

Preussag sees no reason yet to expect commercial exploitation to make sense. The likely strata are at depths of between 400 and 700 metres and the cost

of prospecting in Germany, have all prospected in various areas.

BP and Esso have pulled out of the project; the St Joe Corp. is still drilling.

As matters stand it doesn't seem to easy to locate deposits worth mining. The must be at least several dozen million tons of ore with a metal count of at least 1.8 to 2 per cent of copper.

Another prospecting programme, the Rhenohertzkunst Project, is still at the basic research stage. At depths of between 250 and 450 metres near Brilon two different categories of ore have been located.

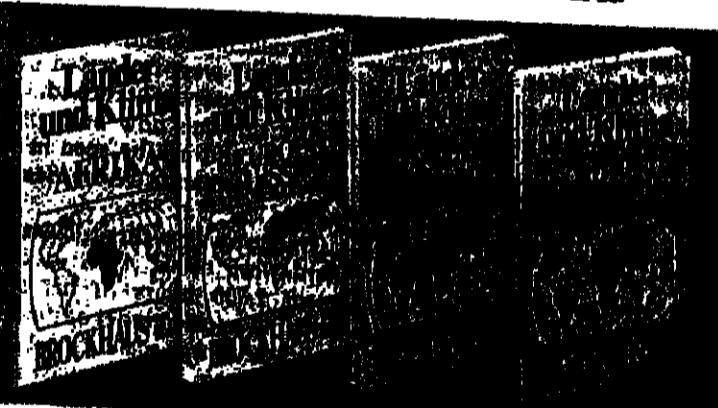
A further project that is still in its early days is the search for a second area of rich seams of copper, zinc and lead ore near the Rammelsberg in the Harz mountains.

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## Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical signs of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

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11 September 1983 - 11 September 1983

## BOOKS

## Technology: librarians are not left on the shelf

of drilling would be out of option to the likelihood of a find.

There would need to be technical changes or more scientific findings, or both. Recovery of a second Rammelsberg was more seriously envisaged.

In the Harz region Preussag, concentrating on prospecting, Rammelsberg area, the partnership has the image of being years existing deposits will be a challenge, not to say, so every effort is being made. New technologies have changed all the extra scans to work out for.

Whether the printed word has long been joined by audiovisual media, magnetic and computerisation.

As matters stand it doesn't seem to easy to locate deposits worth mining. The must be at least several dozen million tons of ore with a metal count of at least 1.8 to 2 per cent of copper.

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Algemeine Zeitung Mainz, 23 August 1983

Karl P. Apeler  
(Die Welt, 17 August 1983)

The new technologies would short-circuit the information cycle by making immediate communication between producer and user possible.

Printed paper would thus degenerate to what was as a rule a merely temporarily valid by-product of complex electronic systems.

Professor Varloot appealed to fellow-librarians to set aside their view of themselves as "guardians of the grail."

Oil sucker  
Continued from page 10 of Library Associations and

ing consultants and shipyards. The motto of its Munich

programme has a budget of

DM22m.

The Thor is currently working

bunker ship so as not to run

costs. Could she not be put to

use in technology creates.

her opening address IFLA presi-

dent, 1,500 delegates from East and

West spent six days discussing at 250

sessions the specialised problems

of the Gulf.

What would be superb subsides

Granheim from Oslo said that

but the Lühring people

copying techniques and automatic

idea. The oil leak from the

data of various kinds present-

Gulf rig sinks quickly to the

bottom with unprecedented new op-

erations.

The introduction was occasioned by

objective requirements but total techno-

logisation with the tendency to dispense

with the book was much more accident-

prone than the traditional system.

Technical hitches can only too easily affect the quality of services provided in respect of electronic transmission of literature without the user immediately realising the fact.

The strange but true fact is that Thor could only make headway if the result could well be a steadily

gaping gap between those who need

information but were unable to pay

the privilege and those who were

noted by financial difficulties.

It was evident in Munich that scienti-

ally trained librarians had been join-

ly informatics specialists.

Deals Varloot of the French Interior

Ministry made the startling comment

it was high time society was envi-

able as managing without paper.

Professor Knopp referred in particu-

lar to an aspect of new technology that

was of great relevance to the individual

information user.

A new generation of specialists who

relied on computer print-outs was in-

creasingly coming to feel that the print-

out was all there was to be said on a

given subject.

Succumbing to the blandishments of

computer convenience they tended to

lose the facility to look up their own

facts and put together and evaluate

them.

The conclusion to which he came was

that the advantages of traditional litera-

cy transmission ought to be retained

and defended wherever they could with-

out damage being done.

"What use is it if the soul of many

written works falls by the wayside in the

process?"

Rose-Marie Bornigsser  
(Die Welt, 27 August 1983)



Heinrich Böll... a winner again

(Photo: Süddeutscher Verlag)

## Heinrich Böll tops poll of best-known German authors

Heinrich Böll is the best-known living German writer in Germany, the Allensbach opinion poll reports. But only a fraction of a per cent behind

is best-selling novelist Johannes Mario Simmel. About 85 per cent of West Germans have heard of them both.

Writers ranging from Günter Grass to Alexandra Corden were on the list of pollsters presented to about 2,000 people.

Böll also topped an Allensbach poll in 1978.

He is particularly highly rated by 16- to 29-year-olds, which would seem to tally with the fact that 94 per cent of people who voted for the Greens, or environmentalists, had heard of him.

Professor Knopp referred in particu-

## Dial-a-poem catches on, but not in every centre

Dial-a-poem was strictly an experiment when the scheme was launched in Kiel in September 1978. But the idea has spread to 12 parts of the country.

Deutsche Bundespost's taped poem or short prose facility is a four-minute sampler of literature for the price of a phone call.

Many will be surprised it has proved popular enough to survive alongside similar taped services such as the weather forecast, the lottery results and what's on at the cinema.

Work is read by the writer, a local person, who introduces himself and reads a four-minute selection of his poetry or prose.

The number of calls depends on how well-known the writer of the month is and how much publicity is given to the facility.

In Hamburg, for instance, there is an entry in the monthly arts programme. In Kiel the writer is featured in the local newspaper.

Many young writers see the facility as a welcome opportunity of getting their work across to a wider public.

In many cases they are allowed to mention their addresses so anyone who is interested can get in touch with them directly.

Other target groups include the sick, handicapped and blind, for whom the dial-a-poem facility is an opportunity of gaining access to the arts in their own home.

The service was first introduced in Mainz; in December 1980, Münster, Düsseldorf, Hamburg and Lübeck followed in 1981. Last year they were joined by Stuttgart, Nuremberg and Osna- brück.

## Criticism over plans for curbs on foreign students in Germany

Plans to introduce restrictions on foreign students in Germany and West Berlin have been heavily criticised by an educational organisation.

The plans include restricting length of stay and limiting choice of study.

DAAD, the German Academic Exchange Service, says the limitations are unnecessary, politically damaging and inept.

It says the eventual result will be to damage Germany economically and in foreign policy.

The recommendation is contained in a wide-ranging report on aliens policy presented to and passed by the Bonn government.

DAAD says fears about students staying beyond their time and damaging the German job market are based on inadequate information.

There are about 66,000 foreign students at universities in West Germany and West Berlin. About 36,000 of these are from developing countries.

Foreign students make up less than one per cent of the foreign population of West Germany and less than one per cent of the national student population, says DAAD.

DAAD is largely financed from public funds. It acts for Bonn, the *Land* governments and the universities abroad in education and culture. It promotes education and science in the Third World.

The report, whose recommendations are to be politically implemented by the Interior Ministry, operates on the assumption that the foreign students' stay is getting longer all the time and that many intend to stay permanently, says DAAD.

This would crowd the German job market and contradict development policy objectives.

As a result, the report recommended that the maximum stay be limited, depending on the course of studies, regardless of the stage a student had reached.

Exemptions might be granted in hardship cases, but even then the extension must not exceed two years.

DAAD says that the report's data are inadequate.

For instance, only 21,000 of the academics employed in Germany came from developing countries such as Greece and Turkey. According to DAAD, they got their jobs when Germany was short of trained university staff.

Today, the job market situation and the legal provisions governing aliens are different.

Length of foreigners' studies differed from case to case, as with German students.

There was no marked difference between the two groups. The careful selection methods applied to foreign students in the past few years had made the foreigners more successful in their studies, thus shortening their stay in this country, DAAD says.

The comment points to the "extremely effective" selection provisions for foreigners applying to study in Germany.

Resolutions adopted by the Education Ministers' Conference in the spring of 1981 had stopped the uncontrolled influx of students from Iran, Turkey, and the Federal Republic of Germany.



Greece and Indonesia (which accounted for one-third of the foreign student body). This had led to a drastic drop in the number of applications.

In the autumn of the same year, the Education Ministers introduced minimum academic and language qualifications for foreign students in addition to the earlier provisions.

A Cabinet resolution of December 1981 aimed at controlling the immigration of the next-of-kind of foreigners from non-EEC countries had made studying in West Germany less attractive, despite exemptions for those who, having passed their exams, wanted to go a step further in their academic qualifications.

Major problems were also being caused by the visa requirements for people intending to spend more than three months in Germany. This means that people interested in studying in Germany could only obtain the necessary information and file their applications abroad.

Academic organisations dealing with foreign students had already registered a marked drop in the number of applicants. This has been confirmed by two German universities.

Germans wanting to study overseas are warned first to make sure that any academic qualification they earn will be recognised in Germany.

DAAD, the German Academic Exchange Service, says that in Germany, many foreign degrees are not worth the paper they are printed on. Most of the problems are with American degrees.

The organisation explains in a handout that employers find it often difficult to tell the difference between a acceptable and unacceptable foreign degrees.

Particularly at risk were working people who were transferred overseas and took foreign degrees in night classes or by correspondence.

Generally, it is safe to assume that diplomas earned at European state universities and accredited North American universities will be recognised here.

But German universities, Education Ministers and examining bodies always decide in retrospect whether and to what extent they are prepared to accept a foreign degree.

In Europe, studying abroad is helped by several agreements on the mutual recognition of diplomas and courses of study.

There have been agreements within the Council of Europe for more than 20 years on the equality of studies and university diplomas. But they are little more than declarations of intent and are therefore not binding for the 21 signatory nations.

Bilateral agreements like that between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Federal Republic of Germany.

The reason for this is to prevent abuse and misunderstandings.

The number of foreigners' applications for studies at West Berlin's Technical University (which has an unusually high 18.4 per cent proportion of foreign students) dropped from 2,431 for the summer semester 1982 to 1,840 for the summer semester that has just ended.

In 1981, there were as many as 3,522 applicants.

In the winter semester, usually marked by a higher number of enrolments, the number of foreign applicants dropped within one year from 3,484 to 2,432 in the 1982/83 winter semester.

Karlsruhe University (8.1 per cent foreigners), which permitted enrolments only once a year, also had a 15 to 20 per cent drop to about 1,200 applications.

Another reason why DAAD considers length-of-stay limits for foreign students unnecessary is because the universities' examination provisions already curtail the length of studies. Languages and entrance examinations could not be repeated indefinitely, and the preliminary examination must be completed by a specific semester.

Unless these deadlines were met, the residence permit could not be renewed anyway because it hinged on a student's stay at university. The introduction of a time limit for foreign students would split the student body into two classes. "German universities would inevitably be seen abroad as practising discrimination," says DAAD.

The recommendation that foreigners be admitted only to specific faculties has also come under fire.

This would not only be a severe intrusion into the universities' sovereignty. It

would also make mock of a partnership with the Third World.

DAAD sees no need for restrictions here because most foreign students already study subjects relevant to development.

This, too, has been confirmed by two universities interviewed, though the emphasis in these on science and technology.

Only six per cent of the students at the Technical University in Berlin (90 per cent of them from the Third World) major in subjects relevant to development.

At Karlsruhe University, which has 10 per cent of the foreign students, the organisation that proved that the Hitler Diaries bought by the magazine *Der Spiegel* were crude forgeries.

Like thousands of other Third Reich documents, Hitler's letter to Darré was seized by the Western Allies in 1945 and then, in 1958, turned over to the archives, which had been established six years earlier.

But not all documents relating to Germany's past can be found in the 11-storey building with its two underground floors.

Many documents from German authorities dating between 1871 and 1919 fell into the hands of the Red Army during the chaotic days of 1945, much to the chagrin of German historians and archivists.

They are now stored at the GDR's Central State Archives in Potsdam.

The only documents from that period now in Koblenz are the files of the Prussian Ministries of Finance and Justice.

Meticulously sorted, packaged and catalogued, they now provide information on such aspects as the catches of the German fishing industry 100 years ago.

Other important original documents are now stored not only in the GDR but also in the national archives of the World War II victors.

The archivists have long since stopped keeping track of the number of documents in their care.

Instead, the measuring unit is a metre. The total stock would reach from Cologne to Koblenz: well over 90 kilometres.

One of these gaps concerns the complete membership file of the Nazi Party which, together with other person-related documents of the Hitler era, is still stored in the West Berlin Document Centre administered by the US Army.

This Document Centre is, however, available to researchers and public prosecutors in war crime trials.

But this fragmentation does not mean that German historians have to abandon research projects. Many documents are available in Koblenz on microfilm and, so far, the GDR authorities have been cooperative.

The research exchange between East and West functions relatively well despite the fact that there is no cultural

equivalence between German and foreign documents.

This makes it easier for foreign employers to get a picture of an applicant's academic achievements.

In most cases, the Education Ministers insist that the foreign degree be used in the form and language it was granted.

Using the German equivalent is permissible if a comparison of the course of studies shows it to be equal with that in a German university.

The evaluation of foreign diplomas by those wishing to go on studying is done by the universities. They are in a position to say what foreign diplomas have cooperation agreements with their German counterparts and the mutual acceptance of degrees already been settled. This naturally

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